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“THE history of mankind, from its earliest period to the present moment, is fraught with proofs of one general truth, that it is in small states, and in consequence of the emulation and ardent spirit which they develop, that the human mind arrives at its greatest perfection, and that the freest scope is afforded both to the grandeur of moral, and the brilliancy of intellectual, character. It is to the citizens of small republics that we are indebted both for the greatest discoveries which have improved the condition or elevated the character of mankind, and for the noblest examples of private and public virtue with which the page of history is adorned! Examples of this kind have often led historians to consider the situation of small republics as that of all others most adapted to the exaltation and improvement of mankind. * * * The greatest of living historians, in his history of the Italian Republics, has expressed a decided opinion that in no other situation is such scope afforded to the expansion of the human mind, or such facility afforded to the progressive improvement of our species.

“On the other hand, it is not to be concealed that such little dynasties are accompanied by many circumstances of continued and aggravated distress. Their small dimensions, and the jealousies which subsist between them, not only furnish the subject of continued dispute, but aggravate to an incredible degree the miseries and devastations of war. Between such states, it is not conducted with the dignity and in the spirit which characterizes the efforts of great monarchies, but rather with the asperity and rancor which belong to a civil contest. While the frontiers only

of a great monarchy suffer from the calamities of war, its devastations extend to the very heart of smaller states. Insecurity and instability frequently mark the internal condition of these republics; and the activity which the historian admires in their citizens, is too often employed in mutually destroying and pillaging each other, or in disturbing the tranquillity of the state. * * *

“The universality of this fact has led many wise and good men to regard small states as the prolific source of human suffering, and to conclude that all the splendor, whether in arts or in science, with which they are surrounded is dearly bought at the expense of the peace and tranquillity of the great body of the people. To such men it appears that the periods of history on which the historian dwells, or which have been marked by extraordinary genius, are not those in which the greatest public happiness has been enjoyed, but that it is to be found rather under the quiet and inglorious government of great and pacific empire. * * *

“The union of the three kingdoms in the British Empire promises to combine for this country the advantages of both these forms of government without the evils to which either is exposed. While her insular situation, and the union and energy of her people, secure for Great Britain peace and tranquillity within her bounds, the rivalry of the different nations of whom the empire is composed promises, if properly directed, to animate her people with the ardor and enterprise which have hitherto been supposed to spring only from the collision of smaller states.”

The preceding quotation is from Alison's "Essay on National Monuments." The small states to which he alludes were those of Ancient Greece and the Mediæval states of Italy. William Smith, in his "History of Greece," describes Greece thus: "Greece, which commences at the fortieth degree of latitude, does not extend further than the thirty-sixth. Its greatest length, from Mount Olympus to Cape Tenarum, is not more than 250 English miles; its greatest breadth, from the western coast of Acarnania to Marathon in Attica, is only 180 miles. Its surface is considerably less than Portugal. This small area was divided among a number of independent states, many of them containing a territory of only a few square miles, and NONE of them larger than an English county." This description embraces Thessaly and Epirus, and yet with these all Greece was considerably less than Portugal, 34,500 square miles, or than Indiana, 33,809 square

miles. "The northern boundary of Hellas proper was a line drawn from the Ambracian Gulf to the mouth of the river Peneus." This makes the area of Greece proper the same as that of Modern Greece, 18,214 square miles, according to Mitchell, or as large as the two states Vermont and New Hampshire. Such, in regard to area, was that Ancient Greece, whose achievements in arms, science, literature, and art excelled those of all antiquity, whose glory has never been equaled, whose influence has extended to the present time, limited only by the bounds of civilization, and destined to endure while art and literature shall exist.

The Medieval states of Italy, which kindled at the altar of Greece the flame of art, science, and civilization that was destined to light the way to unknown worlds, and illumine the triumph of civilization around the circuit of the globe, were even less than Greece. Venetia was not larger than Vermont, 10,000 square miles; Tuscany was even less than Venetia; Genoa, a city upon a barren rock; yet, in the medieval ages, Venice, the bride of the Adriatic, was the queen of commerce and mistress of the Mediterranean; Genoa the rival of Venice; Florence, the seat of science, literature, and art.

If we revert to remote antiquity, it will be found that the nations which made the greatest progress in civilization, which endured the longest, and exerted the most powerful and extended influence upon the civilization of antiquity, were not the nations of the most extensive territory. How small were Palestine and Phœnicia! Egypt, the oldest, the most populous, and most improved of all the nations of antiquity, the cradle of the civilization of the ancient world, had an area of only 180,000 square miles.

If from the period of remotest antiquity we return to the present, it will be found that "the union of the three kingdoms in the British Empire" have, with the Channel Islands, an area of 118,948 square miles. Yet Great Britain is the centre of the commerce and civilization of the world; a more industrious, wealthy, happy and free people are not to be found, and as their prosperity and power have survived amid the convulsions of conflicting nations, so they promise freedom and security for the future.

The great empires of antiquity were, as all great empires, built upon the ruins of other kingdoms, of races and nations, separate, different, and distinct, which struggled for their own individual

excellence, aggrandizement, and independence, but when doomed to succumb to superior power sunk to the condition of an inferior and degraded people, subservient to the conquering and privileged race, who monopolized all the offices and positions of honor, distinction, and emolument. The spirit of ambition, of aspiration for excellence, of emulation, and rivalry, and all those attributes with which humanity is endowed to call forth the latent energies of the soul and elevate the men of intellect and virtue to the high and proper sphere for which God and nature had designed them, perish beneath the blighting influence of arbitrary and despotic power, and the congenial and kindred spirits of tyranny, servile sycophancy, and corruption, rise to power and position, and a conquered, stultified, and degraded people are trained to be the passive, ignorant, unfeeling, and slavish instruments of a tyrant, to keep in subjection the disarmed and oppressed populace of a mighty empire. Such *were* the Babylonian, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Macedonian empires of antiquity, and such *are* the Russian, Austrian, Chinese, Ottoman, and Indian empires of modern times, and such "the greatest public happiness to be found under the quiet and inglorious government of *great and pacific empire.*"

The Roman Empire grew from a single city to be the mistress of the world, the mightiest empire of antiquity. If the progress of Rome is followed, it will be found that when her dominion was extended over the Peninsula of Italy and to the foot of the Alps, an area of 118,000 square miles, she had reached the acme of her power and glory. It was then that her only rival for the dominion of the then western world, Carthage, sank beneath her power. It was then that Corinth, the lingering glory of Greece, was quenched in blood. It was then that tyranny and corruption began to sap the foundation of virtue and patriotism, and mature the civil discords that were destined to desolate the empire, from Britain to Arabia. From this period look to the past, and behold the long line of illustrious men, whose immortal deeds have given imperishable glory to the Roman name; and then look to the future and behold the long line of cruel despots, who have drenched their country with Roman blood, and devastated the extremities of the civilized world.

Rome, in the plenitude of her greatness, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Euphrates, from Caledonia to Nubia, was less than

the great Republic of the West, yet the victims of oppression had no refuge from the vengeance of the oppressor ; he banished them into exile, and they went without a guard, for the empire was a prison, and the Argus-eyed myrmidons of oppression watched the devoted victims of his vengeance. Such was the Roman empire and such the power of her emperors. And what will be the fate of America, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the wintry confines of the North to the torrid regions of the South, when arbitrary power, with iron grasp, shall seize the reins of government, and a disarmed and subjugated people slavishly submit to the will of a despot? Where will freedom, virtue, and patriotism fly from the power of the oppressor? To the East? The boundless ocean bars their flight. To the West? There too the ocean spreads. To the North? There the rigors of winter second the vengeance of the tyrant. To the South? There the torrid sun is as oppressive as the oppressor. When the fatal day shall come, America will be the prison of the victim, and the tyrant, as the tyrant of old, will say go, and the victim of his vengeance without a guard will go to the place of his prison or his exile, for millions of minions will obey the mandates of their master and hound the unfortunate to their doom.

It is true, that industry, intelligence, and virtue are the foundation of the prosperity and happiness of a people, but power and independence are essential for the preservation and exercise of these virtues; for virtue and intelligence, with weakness and dependence, become the victims of despotic power and corruption. What then is the basis of the power and independence of intelligence and virtue, whence springs the prosperity and happiness of a nation? Population, territory, and position; a homogeneous and numerous population, an extensive and fertile territory, and a position defended by natural barriers, oceans, lakes, rivers, mountains, and deserts. What should be the number of inhabitants and extent of territory can be approximately ascertained only by a reference to the experience of the past and of the present, nations whose examples are the only guide by which human anticipations can be governed. The nations of antiquity which endured the longest, were Egypt and Italy. If we suppose the former to have been populated as Belgium, the most densely populated State in Europe; and the latter populated as England, which ranks next to Belgium in the density of its population, the result would be

as follows: Egypt 180,000 square miles, with 385 inhabitants to the square mile, would contain 69,300,000 inhabitants. Italy 118,000 square miles, with 232 inhabitants to the square mile, would contain 27,376,000. But though the valley of the Nile would admit of as great, if not a greater population to the square mile than Belgium, yet there were parts of Egypt quite sterile; nevertheless, the fertile area of ancient Egypt was no doubt far greater than is that of modern Egypt. In regard to modern nations, their statistics furnish satisfactory facts in connection with the subject. The nations of Europe which furnish examples to illustrate what is attempted to be established, are the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, France, Spain, and Italy; they are all large, powerful, and independent kingdoms, each having a homogeneous population that has for centuries lived within their respective boundaries, and no other single kingdom of Europe of the same or like size, power, and position affords a similar example; not even Prussia, which assisted to dismember Poland, in order to add a foreign population and additional territory to her power. The following table will show the size, population, and capabilities of the respective kingdoms alluded to, viz.:

	Square Miles.	Inhabitants.
Great Britain and Ireland....	118,948	27,619,866
France.....	203,736	35,781,628
Spain.....	176,670	14,223,219
Italy.....	117,950	24,068,317

Such are the area and population of these several kingdoms, as given by Mitchell. If Ireland were populated as England, the population of the united kingdoms would be 31,000,000. If France were populated as Italy, it would contain 40,000,000. If Spain were populated as Central Europe, it would contain 25,000,000. But the population of states depends upon other circumstances than fertility of soil and extent of territory; commerce and manufactures, by increasing the profitable employments of the people, multiply the population of a nation. When the population of a nation increases beyond the subsistence of the nation, the interruption of the sources whence it derives its subsistence deranges the peace and harmony of the community. Such were the evils that ancient Italy endured when her communications with Egypt and Africa were interrupted; and such are the

evils that afflict Britain at this present moment from the effects of our civil war, which has deranged the system of our agriculture, and destroyed the markets of her manufactures. After all, civilized men and nations exist only by the subsistence that human industry produces from the culture of the earth; and that nation is most independent and powerful which within itself produces what is required for the demands of its own people. To supply such a demand requires not only fertility of soil and extent of territory, but also peculiar advantages which but few nations possess in an eminent degree. Yet all large nations, large in territory, possess the essentials requisite for the supply of the necessary demands of its population, while the different necessities of different nations are supplied by the different advantages they possess, which makes the mutual supply of their wants by exchange a mutual benefit.

Within what period of time does a nation, such as the preceding, arrive at that point of population beyond which it never progresses? The United Kingdoms have existed as such only since 1603. France, as a united nation, within her present limits, it may be said, has existed only since 1594. Spain within her present limits has existed only since 1492. Italy, with its Italian population and language, divided into petty States, has existed, perhaps, longer than any other of the nations mentioned. The Italian republics flourished at the height of their prosperity and power from 1400 to 1500, but were they then more populous than now? Milan, and Venice, and Genoa, and Florence, are not now what they once were, nor are Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent. Yet Belgium is now, probably, more populous than the same territory has ever been, and so Italy may be. It is probable that the population of Italy has been as great as 30,000,000, for the United Kingdoms, now one of the most prosperous in the world, and of the same area as Italy, has not a much larger population, nor it probable that the United Kingdoms will ever contain a greater population than 30,000,000, that France will ever contain a greater population than 40,000,000, or that Spain will ever contain more than 35,000,000. From what I have stated, it would appear that a modern homogeneous nation of independent power varies in population from 30,000,000 to 40,000,000, and in territory from an area of 120,000 to 200,000 square miles. Any one of the nations above mentioned, populated to nearly its full extent, would have powers of resistance and defense that

would maintain its independence against any probable combination while a constitutional government and a patriotic people constituted the nation. But where a despotic government and an oppressed people constitute a nation, even a much smaller nation may subvert its power. Great Britain waged war at the same time against France, Spain, Holland, and the United Colonies of America; Frederic the Great, with Great Britain, waging war by sea and land, from the Ohio to the Ganges, as his only ally, resisted successfully the combined attacks of Russia, Austria, and France. And, on the other hand, the rotten despotisms of Europe fell before the influence of French principles and French power. If Great Britain possessed the advantages of an insular situation, and a powerful navy, it may, on the contrary, be said that Prussia possessed no navy, no natural advantages; only a population of less than 5,000,000, to oppose a coalition that could bring 600,000 men into the field.

If the early settlement of the territory which originally constituted the whole domain of the United States is investigated, it will be found that the earliest settlers were from the United Kingdoms, the Netherlands, Denmark, and France; that nearly the entire settlers from the last three kingdoms were lost in the population of the first, before the Colonies became an independent nation, when the whole population, 3,000,000, was principally scattered along a territory nearly two thousand miles in extent, and scarcely exceeding two hundred in breadth, or between the Atlantic ocean and the Alleghany mountains, and from Nova Scotia to Florida. There were a few thousands of population, more than a thousand miles west of these, and the whole within an area of 800,000 square miles, which then constituted the total domain of the Union. By the treaty of 1783 between the United States and Great Britain, the Mississippi river, to the thirty-first degree of latitude, was made the western boundary of the United States, and thence by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of this boundary to the middle of the Appalachicola or Chatahoche, thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean. Thus, the original boundary of the United States made the whole area only 790,000 square miles. The Union retained this size from 1783 to 1803, when France, for the sum of 60,000,000

of francs, transferred to the United States the province of Louisiana. This gave the United States possession of both banks of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth, and of the small strip, from the Perdido to the Mississippi, interposing between the original Southern boundary and the Gulf, and extended their extreme western frontier to the Pacific. The whole area of the United States now became more than double its original size, with a less population, in proportion to its area, than originally. But the great cause of discontent in the West was removed; the free navigation of the Mississippi was secured. The want of the free navigation led to the purchase of Louisiana, and now that the Union possessed that advantage, there remained a comparatively small strip of foreign territory that was still further desirable, in order to exclude a foreign power from their borders, to extend their ocean barrier, and to secure the northern borders of the Gulf; so in 1819 the cessation of the province of East Florida by Spain gave 60,000 additional square miles to the area of the Union. One would have supposed that, when the wisest men conceived the original Union too large, and liable to dissolution from the vastness of its territory, the dispersion of its people, and the clash of conflicting interests, that now, at least, the republic would be satiated with territory, but no, the whole boundless continent must be theirs; no neighbors were to be permitted to impede their progress, or interfere with their policy.

In the year 1835, Mexico had an area of 1,348,302 square miles and a population of about 5,500,000. In 1836 Texas, a province of Mexico, having an area of 237,321 square miles,—or, to speak more expressively, *one fiftieth* of the population of Mexico dwelling in *less than one sixth* of her territory, revolted and established their independence, which was acknowledged by the United States, France, and Great Britain. In 1845 the Republic of Texas was annexed to the United States, and thus was the Union increased by an addition nearly as great as the Austrian Empire. But the addition of Texas with an unsettled, undefined boundary begat the Mexican war of 1846, which resulted in the ceding, by Mexico, to the United States, of a territory of 443,000 square miles, and thus was the Union still further increased by an addition, equal in area to the two empires of France and Austria. Was the great Republic now satiated? No, Mexico must be absorbed, Central America and Cuba. The Mexican gulf must

be made an American lake. She must possess the transits to the Pacific, possess the communication with her Pacific States, and hold the key of the gulf, Cuba, as their security. Did not the commerce of the Mississippi pass within sight of the Moro? Was not Cuba not only the key of the gulf, but also of the Mississippi? Nothing was so essential to the security of her commerce, the increase of her power, as the possession of Cuba. But the accession of territory must not all be on the south side, the jealousy of the north must be satisfied. Canada must be annexed, this will give us the complete possession and command of the whole of the great lakes and the St. Lawrence. Buffalo, Rochester, Chicago will not then be tributary to Canada, but have a free outlet to the ocean. Such were the speculations, such the scheme, such the policy of the terramaniac Republic of the West, when the fruits of its iniquity were visited upon it as the avenging punishment of a nation's sin. Such were the fruits of the Macedonian, Roman, Arabian, and Carlovingnian empires. Will nations never profit by the lessons of the past?

It is strange that when the founders of the government feared lest the original area of the Republic might be *too large* for harmony and perpetuity, the present population should think that there is no prospect of peace and perpetuity without three times that area. Why the United States is larger than the Roman empire, calculate it, and count how many kingdoms and empires have been formed out of that mighty despotism of antiquity. Read Washington's farewell address and reflect upon it. He was not alluding to the Republic of to-day, of 3,000,000, or as some have it of 3,300,000, square miles, he was speaking of the *original* Republic of 800,000 square miles. The accession of foreign territory, and of foreign population, has been the bané of the Republic. Confined within our original limits, or enlarged only to the Mississippi and the gulf, comprehending an area of 857,000 square miles, and augmented in population by the natural increase of the original population, the United States would have been at this day a more happy and stable, if not a more powerful, Republic, and her position, circumstances, and resources would have guaranteed her independence against any foreign power, and given her a prosperity and influence that would have placed her, in *DUE* time, among the leading powers of the world, a position which she would have reached, schooled to retain, and thus have

perpetuated for ages the blessings of the Republic to her own children and their posterity. Greatness and power do not necessarily belong to vast dimensions. A *large* man may be not only a very weak man but also a very *great* fool, while a man of medium size may be a Hercules in strength, a Solomon in wisdom ; and so with nations, they are not the largest nations that are either the wisest or the most powerful. The object of every nation or government should be *the happiness of its own people*, not extent of territory and density of population. The happiness of a people can exist only in prosperity and tranquillity, and these only in peace. Therefore every good government will cultivate peace, and if good governments must sometimes loose their tranquillity and peace, it is because bad governments by bad deeds provoke them to hostility. That nation which expects to escape the evils that are incident to all nations, is as wise as he who expects to escape the frailties of humanity and the misfortunes of life, which are but the conditions of mortal existence.

The territory of the United States is capable of forming six of the most powerful nations of the earth. But I will leave it for others to decide whether it is better to have six governments, stimulating each other by laudable rivalry and emulation, checking each other in a career of rapine and aggrandizement, and each affording an asylum from the oppression of the other, and thus the good increasing in power and prosperity at the expense of the bad ; and thus, by demonstrating at the same time the benefits of good, and the evils of bad, government, induce government so to be administered as to secure and perpetuate the power, happiness, and prosperity of the state—or to have one gigantic republic which will overshadow all surrounding nations, have no rival, no competitor, its overwhelming power the arbiter of nations that exist only by its sufferance, a power that will enable it to establish its own will, as the rule of its action and the measure of its policy, and when concentrated in a mighty despotism leave no hope for the liberty of man, but a gloomy and abiding oppression, such as degrades the millions of the mighty empires of Asia to slavery, to crush out the last spark of liberty, and leave a night of despotism to shroud the intellects of nations, buried in the slumber of ages.

The lowest estimate of the area of the United States is 3,023,460 square miles. The population, according to the census of 1860, is 31,000,000. The fortieth degree of latitude divides

the territory of the United States, west of the Mississippi, into two equal parts ; the same parallel and the Ohio river divides the territory east of the Mississippi also into two nearly equal parts. If the two parts west of the Mississippi are divided by the Rocky Mountains and the Rio Grande, the whole territory of the United States would be divided into six parts, and the following would be the boundaries of the several divisions, viz. : The north-eastern would consist of all the territory north of the Ohio river and the southern boundary of Pennsylvania and east of the Mississippi river. The north-middle would consist of all the territory between the Mississippi river and the Rocky Mountains and north of the fortieth degree of latitude. The north-western would consist of all the territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean and north of the fortieth degree of latitude. The south-eastern would consist of all the territory south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio river and east of the Mississippi. The south-middle would consist of all the territory between the Mississippi, and the Rio Grande and the Rocky Mountains, and south of the fortieth degree of latitude. The south-western would consist of all the territory between the Rio Grande river and the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Ocean, and south of the fortieth degree of latitude.

The area of Europe is 3,757,950 square miles. The population, at the lowest estimate, is 265,395,498 inhabitants. The inhospitable and sparsely populated portions of Europe are Russia, Norway, and Sweden, which have an area of 2,387,440 square miles, with a population of 65,179,274. The remainder of Europe, constituting the congenial and populous portion, has an area of 1,370,510 square miles, with 200,216,224 inhabitants, or 146 inhabitants to the square mile. If the mountainous and sterile portions of the congenial portion of Europe are considered, and then the United States with its virgin soil, unequalled in quality, depth, and extent, with mineral resources, the development of which will give a dense population even to the mountainous regions of the country, with facilities for internal communications by land and water such as no other country has ever possessed, when all these are considered it may be reasonably conjectured that the United States is susceptible of as great a population to the square mile as the congenial and populous portion of Europe alluded to. Then assuming 146 inhabitants to the square mile, for the future population of the United States, the several divisions

of it indicated by their initials would be in area and population as follows :

	Square miles.	Population.
1st. N. E.....	406,791	59,391,386
2d. N. M.....	554,414	80,944,444
3d. N. W.....	437,926	63,937,196
4th. S. E.....	450,254	65,737,084
5th. S. M.....	668,496	97,600,416
6th. S. W.....	485,519	70,885,774
Total.....	3,003,400	438,496,300

Lest the above estimate should seem too extravagant, let it be considered that Switzerland, a country of mountains and lakes, has a population of 156 inhabitants to the square mile, while Belgium, not exceeding, in proportion to its extent, either in fertility of soil, or in mineral resources, or in any natural advantages, several of the above divisions, has a population of 385 inhabitants to the square mile. Thus it will be seen that one of the poorest countries of Europe has 10, and one of the richest 239 more inhabitants to the square mile than is assumed in the above estimate of the capacity of the United States. Were the divisions mentioned made so many separate independent governments, and the British provinces in the north-east united under one form of government, then all the dominions of the present several governments of North America would be of but inconsiderable variation in size; for the British provinces have an area of 442,900 square miles, and Mexico an area of 668,000 square miles.

The following table of European kingdoms that are requisite to form an area equal to that of the respective divisions, will convey a correct idea of the relative size of the several divisions, and of the power, population, and importance of which they are susceptible :

The initials and ordinal numbers indicate the divisions, the other numbers indicate square miles.

	Square miles.
France.....	203,736
Spain.....	176,670
Belgium.....	11,313
Hanover.....	14,600
Total.....	406,319
1st N. E.....	<u>406,791</u>

	Square miles.
France.....	203,736
Switzerland.....	25,261
Bavaria.....	28,435
Prussia.....	107,300
Turkey.....	189,470
Total.....	554,202
2d N. M.....	554,414
Turkey.....	189,470
Austria.....	240,319
Wirtemberg.....	7,558
Total.....	437,347
3d N. W.....	437,926
France.....	203,736
Austria.....	240,319
Baden.....	5,712
Total.....	449,767
4th S. E.....	450,254
France.....	203,736
Austria.....	240,319
Turkey.....	189,470
Portugal.....	34,500
Total.....	668,025
5th S. M.....	668,496
Great Britain and Ireland.....	118,948
Spain.....	176,670
Turkey.....	189,470
Total.....	485,088
6th S. W.....	485,519

Some of the great defects in the present system of the government of the United States, are the power and patronage of the President, the dependence of the heads of the departments of State,

and of the chiefs of the army and navy, the Senatorial inequalities of the States, and the mode of electing the President.

The petty State of Rhode Island has an area of 1,306 square miles, and 174,620 inhabitants. Delaware has an area of 2,120 square miles, and 112,216 inhabitants. Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Maryland, and Vermont have respectively, in round numbers of thousands of square miles, 4, 7, 8, 9, 9, 10. South Carolina, Maine, Indiana, and Kentucky have respectively 29, 32, 33, 37. Seventeen of the remaining States vary from the lowest 39, to the highest 67; while California has an area of 188,981 square miles, and Texas 237,321. Such are the extraordinary inequalities in the size of the States. According to the present system of government, a petty State of from 1,000 to 10,000 square miles, has as much influence in the Senate as a State of 40,000, 60,000, or 100,000 square miles; and 174,000 or 112,000 inhabitants counteract, through their Senators in Congress, the influence of 2,900,000 or 3,880,000 inhabitants. In regard to the power and patronage of the President it is unnecessary to speak, it is universally acknowledged and felt within the limits of the Union. In regard to the mode of electing the President it is also unnecessary to speak; the nation has experienced for more than two years the baneful influence of the present mode, which has enabled a sectional party, nearly one million in the minority, to elect a President, monopolize the offices of state, and control the government.

In reflecting upon the reconstruction of the government, the following ideas have suggested themselves, which are here presented for the consideration of those who desire reunion and reconstruction, and of those who are qualified for such an undertaking: The general outline of a new Union is indicated in what has already been said. Let each division constitute a sovereign and independent republic, and the sovereignty and independence of each be guaranteed forever by all of the others. Let a common constitution for the whole, united under one government by a compact to terminate at the end of the fiftieth year from the date of the inauguration of the common government, be ratified by each republic.

Let THE SENATE consist of twelve members from each republic, one from each of the twelve permanent districts into which each republic shall be divided, and elected by a college of electors of

the respective republics, which shall consist of as many members as there are in the Republic states, the Legislatures of which shall each have the power of electing one elector.

Let THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES consist of as many members from each of the districts, elected by the respective voters thereof, as the district shall be entitled to by a decennial apportionment made according to its ratio of population.

Let THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL consist of twelve executors, two from each republic, elected by the respective voters thereof.

Let THE PRESIDENT be elected by the senate and executive council, the concurrence of not less than two thirds of the members of each body be necessary to a choice. The nominees for the presidency to be six in number, one from each republic, nominated by the respective executors thereof, and voted for in succession, until all shall be voted for, and the one having the greatest number of votes, not less than two thirds, to be president.

THE CHIEFS OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE to be nominated and elected in the same manner as the president, but the nomination in each republic in which a candidate shall be elected shall cease until a candidate shall be elected from each of the remaining republics, when the nominations shall be renewed and the election proceed as before, and thus until all the departments shall be filled. The chiefs of the first six departments shall be consulting and deliberating members of the executive council, but not entitled to vote.

THE JUDICIARY shall consist of twelve supreme judges, two from each republic, nominated by the respective executors thereof and confirmed by the president.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY shall be selected from the officers of the army. THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NAVY shall be selected from the officers of the navy, and each shall be elected in the same manner as the president. They shall in times of peace be subject to the order of the chiefs of their respective departments, and in time of war to the orders of the executive council.

THE ARMY to consist of six independent divisions, one to each of the republics, consisting of citizens of the respective republics, and commanded by officers natives of the same, or citizens of the same at the time of the ratification of the constitution.

THE NAVY to consist of five squadrons, one to each of the maritime divisions.

The nomination to all foreign embassies shall be made by the president and confirmed by the executive council, but no two nominees of the first six in importance shall be filled from the same republic.

All national offices in the respective republics shall be filled by the citizens thereof.

All vacancies during the recess of congress shall be filled by the executive council, by a citizen of the same republic as the previous occupant of the office vacated, who shall discharge the duties of the officer until a person regularly elected or nominated and confirmed according to the established forms shall be installed.

Every act of congress, before becoming a law, shall be submitted to the executive council, and if approved by two thirds of its members shall become a law, but if approved by only a majority it shall be transmitted to the president, and if approved by him it shall become a law, but if not approved, it shall be returned to the senate, and if there approved by two thirds of the members, it shall become a law.

All officers created by the senate and executive council, as also the supreme judges and ambassadors, may be removed at any time by the concurrence of three fourths of the respective members of each of these bodies.

The presidential term to be eight years.

The president to be elected to serve for eight years, and be ever afterward ineligible to the office of president.

The executors to serve four years, and be ineligible during the four years next after the expiration of the second of two consecutive terms.

The representatives to serve four years.

The senators to serve for twelve years, and one third vacate every four years, and each to be ineligible during the next eight years subsequent to a full term.

The Secretaries or heads of the departments to serve for eight years.

The chief of the army, and the chief of the navy, each to serve to the end of the sixtieth year of their respective ages.

The ambassadors to serve six years, and be ineligible to any

office during the four years next after their inauguration into office, unless elected or nominated and appointed while in the discharge of the duties of their embassy.

The supreme judges to serve to the end of the seventieth year of their respective ages.

Congress to assemble once every two years, and be convened and adjourned by the executive council.

The citizens of each state possessing the qualifications of citizenship required by any of the other states, shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of those states.

The imperfection of humanity leaves no possibility of doubt that the best conceived plans of man will prove defective. These defects will be developed by time and experiment, and if not remedied in due time will prove the ruin of the whole system. The plan here proposed is not a hobby but a proposition, suggested in the hope that the ideas conveyed by it may aid the ingenuity of those whose wisdom will enable them to frame a practicable plan of government, by which peace, harmony, and union may be restored to a people, who once justly prided themselves upon their liberty, power, happiness, and prosperity.

One of the great obstacles to the plan here proposed is that while the several divisions may be regarded as equal in territory, they are very unequal in population. The following is an approximation to the number of inhabitants in each of the divisions west of the Mississippi River, viz.: South Middle, 3,090,000; North Middle, 880,000; South-West, 460,000; North-West, 108,000 inhabitants. It thus appears that the South Middle division has as great a population as the original United States, when the government was first inaugurated under the present Constitution, but a greater number of inhabitants to the square mile, since it has 132,000 square miles less than the original territory of the United States. It has a greater population than eleven States which send twenty-two Senators to Congress. The north middle division has about as many inhabitants to the square mile as the old Confederation had at its inauguration. It has a greater population than six States which send twelve Senators to Congress. The south-west division has a greater population than three States which send six senators to Congress. Under the present system, each State, no matter how small its population, is entitled to at least one representative. While the ratio remains

less than the population of the least State the representation is uniform, but the representation would become unwieldy if the ratio were continued or reduced to the standard of the population of the State the least in the number of its inhabitants, while in proportion as it is raised above that standard, inequality is produced in the representation. In the plan here proposed, the ratio may, after the lapse of a few years, for the increase of population in the south-west and north-west divisions, be raised to many times the number of population in several of the States, and be made millions instead of hundreds of thousands, without producing inequality in the representation.

But were it even possible to make a system perfect and practicable for a definite period of time, yet such is the order of nature and the character of mankind, that no great period of time would elapse before even such a system would be illy suited to the gradual and inevitable changes of nature and humanity. Some of the founders of the present system of government conceived that the mode of amending would prove a panaceal remedy for all the ills of the political constitution. Others pronounced it impotent, in cases of dangerous or fatal tendency. The experiment of seventy-five years has demonstrated that nations, like individuals, may become so diseased that no constitution can save them from the fatal or even dangerous effects of a *radical* disease. Some definite period should be defined for the duration of every political constitution, and that period should be such as reason or experience has demonstrated is of sufficient extent to serve the purposes of its creation ; under existing circumstances, fifty years is probably the proper period for the duration of an American Constitution. It is not improbable that at the end of fifty years from this date, or in 1913, there will be more than 30,000,000 of inhabitants west of the Mississippi, and two or three lines of railways connecting cities of 500,000 inhabitants on the Pacific coast with cities of more than a million of inhabitants on the Atlantic coast ; that at the end of that period nearly the whole trade of western Asia, with this continent, and of this continent, with western Asia, will centre in the cities on the Pacific coast, while from the cities on the Atlantic coast, lines of steam packets will be regularly plying to the Amazon, Orinoco, and La Plata. It is only necessary to look to the past, to see what wonderful changes have been made, in order to foresee what will be made.

But as the progress and effects of prosperity are to be learned from the past, so are also the progress and effects of retrogression, ruin, and devastation. Every year of war, such a war as now exists, retrogrades more than ten years the civilization, improvement, and prosperity of the country. It is easy for any man of ordinary mind to calculate it. This war has now lasted two years, and there is devastation from the Atlantic to the Kansas, from the Ohio to the Gulf. Will ten years, or even thirty years, of peace and prosperity repair the ruin that has been made? Again suppose no war had existed, no injury had been done, where now would be the position and condition of the people of this country? Their position and condition would be such that, were the war to stop this very day, they would not acquire them in sixty years. Finally, where will this nation be, with the continuance of this devastating war and enormous expenditure, at the end of February, 1865, and where would it now have been had there been peace during the past two years, and all the enormous expenditures had been made in the improvement of the nation?

One of the objections to the President being eligible to a second term, was that he would employ his influence and patronage during his first term to secure his election to the second term. This objection is removed by limiting the patronage of the President, requiring the national offices in the several divisions to be filled by citizens thereof, and making the President ineligible to a second term.

One source of discord in the Senate was the partisan animosities engendered by the rivalry and enmity of leading or prominent members, whose continuance in office enabled them to foster and continue the injurious effects of their personal or political enmity. This is remedied by requiring an interval of eight years next after the termination of each full term before the incumbent of that term shall be eligible again to the same office. During this interval of eight years a complete change is made in the Presidency, Executive Council, and two thirds of the Senate, thus bridling the ambition of Senators, and interrupting, if not wholly removing, the injurious effects of their hostilities, and leaving no time or opportunity for faction, corruption, and conspiracy.

One of the common modes of rewarding the partisans of the president, is by appointing them to important missions with an

expensive outfit, which missions they accept for the emoluments, and resign as soon as they have realized their speculation, and return home without having done any thing creditable to themselves or their country, to dive again in the dirty puddle of demagoging politics, to the discredit of themselves and the detriment of the country. This is remedied by making persons accepting embassies ineligible to any national office during the four years next after their presentation to the court to which they may be accredited, unless elected or appointed while in the discharge of the duties of their embassy. Thus they will be induced to hold the mission for four years, at least, and to continue to the end of the term, as no opportunity for election to office will present itself until two years after the expiration of the term, which two years will afford ample time to return and prepare for an election to any office to which they may aspire. If sickness is allowed as an exception, any ambassador may make any indisposition a pretext for resignation. The experience of the past has fully demonstrated the necessity of the restrictions proposed.

Every nation should have for the discharge of the duties of the offices of the nation the most powerful and vigorous abilities, physical and intellectual; the maturity of these abilities may be placed at the twenty-fifth year of the age of a man. At the sixtieth year of the age of man, his physical, if not his intellectual, faculties are generally impaired. At seventy years of age man no longer possesses the physical vigor that should be required of those who fill the offices of a great nation. It is a great mistake that good officers should be continued in office, because there are few persons in a nation qualified for the discharge of the duties of the offices of the highest grade. It is not true that, in a nation of 30,000,000, there are few persons qualified for the most important offices of government. The error lies in the selection of the proper persons for those offices, not in the deficiency of such persons.

The principles of a *democratic republican* government are such that demagogues of more vanity and ambition than sense and discretion esteem themselves qualified for any office, flatter and delude the people, and, by bribery, intrigue, and corruption, arrive at positions for which they are wholly incompetent. But in a *representative republican* government, where the principles of government are such that demagoging, self-constituted candidates

have no longer the opportunity of ingratiating themselves into popular favor, for the gratification of their own avaricious or ambitious schemes, and the arrangements are such that the emulation and rivalry of different portions of the same republic begets the necessity of producing the most virtuous, intelligent, and worthy as candidates for the highest offices of government, in order to secure their election to the most important of these, in preference to other constitutionally appointed candidates for the same, there is good reason to believe that the influence of demagogues will cease, at least in regard to offices of primary importance, and that men qualified for the higher ranks will be selected by the representative wisdom of the respective divisions.

There are advantages and disadvantages in long terms, and so also in short ones ; a medium is best suited to the interest of a nation, for which offices are constituted, and not for the interest of individuals, which, in a public capacity, should ever be subservient to the public weal. It is wrong for public suffrage to bestow the offices of government upon popular favorites as rewards for public services ; every service has its compensation, and it is the duty of every officer to discharge the duties of his rank ; he derives no additional claims upon the community for doing that which it is his duty to do, and for which he receives a compensation, which has been adjudged for those services as just and sufficient. If compensations are not sufficient, increase them. If *political aspirants* are not satisfied with them, let them not accept of the office. When a system is once established, let there be no innovation to destroy its harmony, and, above all, let it not be perverted by popular passions, prejudices, or partialities, to an engine of punishment or reward.

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